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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 ANKARA 002385

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NSC FOR JUDITH ANSLEY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/02/2026

TAGS: [PREL](#) [IR](#) [IZ](#) [GG](#) [AJ](#) [AR](#) [FR](#) [TU](#)

SUBJECT: TURKEY: EUR A/S FRIED AND NSC SENIOR DIRECTOR  
ANSLEY'S DISCUSSIONS AT FOREIGN MINISTRY

Classified By: Ambassador Ross Wilson for reasons 1.4 (b,d).

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Summary  
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¶1. (C) Senior MFA officials expressed concern to EUR A/S Daniel Fried and NSC Senior Director for Europe Judith Ansley that France may criminalize denial of the Armenian "genocide" and said France's position on Cyprus is unhelpful. The GOT has received an interim response from Yerevan on its March 10 non-paper urging establishment of bilateral commissions (septel). The MFA worries that a recent Iraqi demarche critical of the presence of Turkish troops in northern Iraq, if aired publicly, may damage relations with Baghdad. Turkey hopes to send high-level MFA officials to Washington soon for consultations on Iran, while Larijani may soon visit Ankara. Turkish officials requested U.S. support to ensure the Annan Plan remains the basis for a Cyprus settlement and is awaiting a response from the UNSYG on its January 24 proposal for opening ports. End Summary

¶2. (C) Fried and Ansley, accompanied by Ambassador, met with MFA officials April 26 to work on the text of the "Shared Vision and Structured Dialogue to Advance the Turkish-American Strategic Partnership" document (latest draft faxed to EUR/SE). They discussed a range of issues with Undersecretary Tuygan, Middle East Deputy Undersecretary Uzumcu, Europe/Americas D/US Apakan, and Americas Director General Alpar.

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France, Turkey and Armenia  
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¶3. (C) Tuygan complained about the French approach to the Armenian genocide issue, noting the 2001 French Parliament resolution. He understood the French Socialist Party plans to introduce a measure in mid-May that would establish criminal penalties for denying the Armenian genocide. Tuygan said he warned French Ambassador Poudade of a strong negative public reaction in Turkey. Fried noted that such legislation

usually generated problems without visible benefit and said he would seek an opportunity to bring this up with the French as a free speech issue. Fried reminded Tuygan of the case of Orhan Pamuk, who had been indicted in Turkey for urging Turkey to recognize the Armenian genocide.

14. (C) Uzumcu told Fried that the GOT had received a letter from Yerevan the previous week in response to the Turkish March 10 non-paper; the MFA is still analyzing the Armenian response but is not satisfied at first glance. (Note. MFA contacts later gave us a copy of the Armenian note in confidence, faxed to EUR/SE on April 28. End note). Uzumcu stressed that Turkey's proposal of a Joint Historical Commission is not intended to force Armenia to question its position on genocide, but rather is meant as a confidence building measure to help improve bilateral relations. Fried expressed appreciation for this view and said the U.S. would continue to encourage the Armenians to be responsive as long as Armenia was not asked to put in question its position on the Armenian genocide. Fried noted that the Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation Commission (TARC) process, which had been supported by some Armenian diaspora groups, had been a useful precedent.

15. (C) Fried stressed the "broad expectation" that Turkey will open its border with Armenia when a Nagorno-Karabakh settlement is reached. Uzumcu restated the Turkish position that progress on bilateral issues would be a consideration in any Turkish decision on the border. Uzumcu said Turkey is aware of the shrinking window of opportunity for an NK settlement and worried at increasing militancy in Azerbaijani rhetoric, which Ankara has tried to dampen.

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Cyprus -- Turkey Worried Annan Plan De-emphasized

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16. (C) Claiming to speak on FM Gul's specific instructions, D/US Apakan expressed Turkish government fears that the Annan Plan is losing its primacy. He stressed that Turkey strongly insists the UN plan remain the basis for a settlement, pointing out several times that EU documents on Turkish accession point specifically to progress on the Annan Plan. This must not change, or the Greek Cypriots will be able to control the process. Turkey is also eager to hear an answer from the UNSYG on FM Gul's January 24 proposal. Fried noted that we must: 1) get back on a negotiating track towards a comprehensive settlement, and 2) generate enough short-term progress to avoid an EU accession train wreck later this year. Fried said that DAS Bryza may come out with UN U/SYG Gambari in May to float some ideas. There are many things on the table (the Turkish proposal, Famagusta/Varosha, technical talks) but we need to put them together in a way that moves the ball forward.

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Georgia's NATO Aspirations  
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17. (C) Uzumcu and Fried discussed Georgia's NATO aspirations. Uzumcu stressed that Turkey supports Intensified Dialogue and even an "eventual" MAP for Georgia. Fried outlined Russia's creeping annexation of South Ossetia. Left alone and isolated, Georgia would be vulnerable to Russian advances and apt to take provocative steps out of desperation. Fried emphasized the U.S. belief that a clear NATO perspective (performance-based and thus condition, not guaranteed) would encourage Georgian confidence and good behavior, and improve odds for a settlement of the frozen conflicts. Fried stressed that NATO is performance-based and Georgia will have to qualify, but the membership incentive will encourage performance. Georgia has already earned an Intensified Dialogue. Uzumcu replied that Turkey will continue to support Georgia both via bilateral defense assistance and in

NATO. He added that Turkey has recently seen a more moderate attitude from President Saakashvili.

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Iran -- Turkey Seeks Further Consultations  
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¶18. (C) Fried noted that one of Secretary Rice's goals during her visit was to defuse concerns that the U.S. is focused on the military option for Iran. The U.S. is committed to doing everything it can to make the diplomatic effort work. Fried noted the Iranians appear convinced they are not facing a united front against their nuclear ambitions -- a dangerous assumption on their part. Turkey can help put non-military pressure on Iran, and the U.S. intends to consult closely with Turkey. Fried explained that the U.S. is looking at ways to apply financial pressure on Iran short of oil/gas sanctions and welcomes Turkey's ideas. We are also interested in GOT views on Iranian society as we seek to reach out to the Iranian people. Support for the current regime is not universal and does not include much of the middle class and many professionals. Turkey can show Iranians a better future, Fried concluded.

¶19. (C) Uzumcu responded that D/US Akgunay had talked to the Russians the week before and had urged a united front vis-a-vis Iran. Akgunay found the Russians down-playing Iranian ambitions and thought they may be seeking to distance themselves from sanctions in order to be favorably placed to resume relations with Iran when the crisis passes. Uzumcu noted that one million Iranian tourists come to Turkey visa-free every year and are able to experience an alternative to their political situation. He warned that political change won't come overnight in Iran; a campaign against the regime there could backfire by increasing the regime's domestic support and taking the focus off the nuclear issue. Fried emphasized that we will continue to reach out to Iranian people and show them the regime can't

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simply dictate one political outcome. Turkey can help by articulating how democracy and Islam can coexist.

¶10. (C) Uzumcu confirmed that Iranian nuclear negotiator Larijani has asked to visit Ankara and Turkey believes it must receive him, although no date has been set. Uzumcu assured Fried Turkey will give Larijani a clear message about Iran's nuclear ambitions.

¶11. (C) Uzumcu stated that the MFA planned to send D/US Rafet Akgunay and DG Bozkurt Aran to Washington soon to discuss Iran in general and sanctions in specific. He welcomed suggestions on a schedule.

¶12. (U) EUR A/S Fried has cleared this cable.

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WILSON